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Misfortunes Caused by Kings

DUAN Qing (Beijing)[1]

As to my knowledge, there are actually two manuscript fragments found in 1998 by Dr. Christoph Baumer and his fellow explorer on their second trip to Dandan Oilik. Then, Baumer brought with him the leaves to Europe. In March 1999, he forwarded photographs of these manuscripts to Professor Prods Oktor Skjærvø, so the latter could work on them. In 2007, Professor Skjærvø published his profound work entitled "A Khotanese amulet" with the photographs in the Memorial Volume dedicated to Ronald E. Emmerick.[2] In the time between, on a request from the Xinjiang Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology, Urumqi, the two leaves were finally returned to China. Now they are preserved in the institute just mentioned.

When Xinjiang Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology was preparing the report of the Sino-Japanese Joint Expedition about discoveries at the Dandan Oilik site at the beginning of 2008, colleagues in Xinjiang entrusted me with the task of deciphering the two manuscript fragments, with a request that to their planned volume of the report I might contribute an article dealing with the content of these two leaves. While being ignorant of the existence of Skjærvø's article, I finished my work which includes transcription, translation in Chinese of the manuscripts and a short summary about the literature background. Shortly after I finished the draft, it was very kind of Skjærvø to send to me his article dealing with the same manuscripts. The first thought upon receiving his article was to withdraw my draft since there is obviously no need to publish the same material twice. But after reading his article, I decided to go on with the publication of my version. This is considered out of two reasons: 1. it is because Chinese readers are interested more in the content and the background of the manuscript but less in the philological analysis, and 2. my reading differentiates in several places from that of Skjærvø. I may have adopted some of his suggestions for a better reading in my version, but I do not agree with him in all the issues.[3] Out of the thought, that some grammatical

appearance of the text in the fragment is significant for study of the syntax of the Khotanese language, and not so much people read Chinese, so I decide to compose the present paper dealing with the problems in "A Khotanese amulet" published by Skjærvø.

Before I enlarge on the discussion, a remark is noteworthy about the format of the two leaves. As Skjærvø depicted that the manuscripts were two amulets designed for protection against misfortunes and diseases. Characteristic of such kind of amulets is the slender format of the paper which is vertical long and narrow in width. Several amulets of such a format are known to us. The first one to be mentioned here is discovered by Stein on his second expedition in Khadaliq, therefore it is bearing the signature kha. i. 50 when the side with a drawing is published.[4] However on the reverse side there are five short lines in Khotanese which were firstly read and published in 1968 by Emmerick; in 2002, Skjærvø included a new and correct interpretation of the same short text in his *Catalogue*.[5] This is in fact a colophon upon which we are informed that the amulet was made for a man named Sūrade. Among the findings of the similar format hitherto known to us the most typical one is the Khotanese amulet against the 15 demons. The paper manuscript of approx. 2 meters long by 7 centimeter wide is now preserved in the collection of manuscripts from Western Regions at the National Library in Beijing, and what makes it more valuable is that the text on it is complete.[6] According to the colophon at the end of the manuscript, the amulet was designed and produced for a lady that she might beget sons. It is to be observed that the amulet was not made of one entire sheet of paper, but several sheets of paper had been affixed together. This practice indicates the significance of the format. By producing a paper amulet the ancient Khotanese had to obey some rules. When we put all the findings of similar format together, we may see it is likely that once upon a time in ancient Khotan there was a popular cult that people took amulets. Moreover, we can infer firstly from the personal name Sūrade which appears in other Khotanese documents with quite certain dates and secondly from paleographic features of all the similar manuscripts that the cult arose in the later phase of Buddhism in Khotan, namely in the second half of the 8th century.

After speaking about the common feature of Khotanese amulets, let us return to the two fragments deciphered and researched first by Skjærvø and afterwards by me. Since we have now two versions dealing with the same manuscripts—one in English and the other one in Chinese, there is no need to recapitulate the common parts. In the following discussion I will confine myself to the discrepancy in our two readings.

A Syntactical Meaning for the Genitive-dative Case of Khotanese Language

The subjoined photo is showing lines form 11 to 18 on the reverse of the first

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[4] M.A. Stein, *Serindia* IV, reprinted in Delhi: Motilal Banarsass 1980, xci.

[5] *Catalogue* p. 585.

[6] The manuscript is published as Duan Qing, "Yutianyu duizhi shiwu gui hushenfu" 于闐語對治十五鬼護身符 [A Khotanese amulet against the Fifteen Demons], 敦煌吐魯番研究 *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* = *Journal of the Dunhuang and Turfan studies* 11 (2008), Shanghai, pp. 101-120.

fragment given by Skjærvø as b. The text under discussion is interesting for several reasons. Meanings for some words and phrases which were obscure to us can now be clarified in virtue of the text. For a better view, I juxtapose my transcription and interpretation beside the photo that is cut out from the copy of the manuscript.

To fragment I, verso lines 11-19 = b 10-18 by Skjærvø 2007, p. 390.
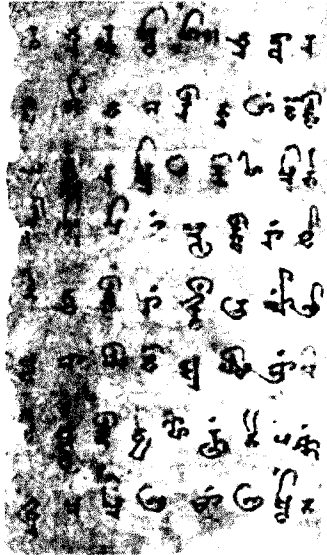
11. u cu rru svāhā ‖ cu tvā ra-
12. kṣa baida barī ka rrāmdä jsī-
13. ye vīra ārradä himāte
14. o āmmā[c]ām mū-kṣīrāṃ o
15. nitca-kṣīrāṃ khvī ulāmñā-
16. ṣta bāyīdä aysī brābi-
17. te ṣtūṃ jīvye haurūṃ nai paśūṃ
18. khu mamāmña thāmña ṣtāmna
19. (mīdi)

Translation:

"... He who carries the protection upon (himself), if he as a guilty one is going to be killed by the king or by ministers or by countrymen or foreigners, when they bring him to the execution ground, I shall stand before him, return life to him, do not leave him if he dies while in my place."

ulāṃñāṣṭa, ulāṃñi

ulāṃñāṣṭa is constructed on a base with *āṣṭa*—suffix and postposition which governs the preceding substantive in locative case, and *ulāṃñi* is also in locative; its nominal stem is in my opinion *ulāṃna-* of Late Khotanese derived from *upalatāna-* or *ulatāna-* in Old Khotanese. Since *ulāṃñi* is closer to the base, so in the following lines when only *ulāṃñi* is mentioned, it represents both occasions under discussion.

In our text, *ulāṃñi* occurs twice: in lines 15-16 and 20 (b14-15 and 19 by Skjærvø). According to Skjærvø, the word is providing a Middle Khotanese form going back to Old Khotanese *uholañä*. Since *uholañä* is attested in *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra* corresponding to Sanskrit *anyatra* "elsewhere", so its meaning is clear. Therefore he rendered *khvī ulāṃñāṣṭa bāyīdä* as "if they take him to another place".

However, it would be problematic if *ulāṃñi* were equivalent of Old Khotanese *uholañä*. Here, *-ho-* is dropped without any trace, and what is more, it seems to me that the preceding syllable is substituted by *-la-* is implausible, and a similar case in Khotanese vocabularies from Old Khotanese to Late Khotanese cannot be found. It is true that in Late Khotanese intervocalic *-h-* did not hinder the vowels which precede and follow it from merging into one vowel, as for instance, *tcahora* is found to have been reduced to *tcaura*,[7] and even a Sanskrit word *mahādevī* is written down as *mādevī* that

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[7] *Dictionary* p. 138.

occurs in a Late Khotanese manuscript of *Aparimitāyuh-sūtra* from the cave of Dunhuang.[8] In the case of *uholañā*, if a junction would have taken place, it is rather to be expected that *u-* and *-ho-* would have joined together, but not *-ho-* and *-la-*. Therefore *ulāṃñi* can not be a Late Khotanese equivalent of *uholañā*.

By the way, on *lā* in *ulāṃñi* there is a clear dot for *anusvāra* to be read, but the dot was not used for indicating the default of an ancient syllable. On this occasion, it ought to be pointed out that it is a habit of Khotanese scribes to add an *anusvāra* sign to the preceding vowel if a nasal consonant follows. Such a practice is to be observed in many of Khotanese manuscripts from Dandan Oilik, and *ulāṃñāṣṭa* and *ulāṃñi* once more envisage the practice.

As afore mentioned, it is more likely that *upalatāna-* is the real Old Khotanese base word for *ulāṃñi*. *Upalatāñe*, a form in locative singular, occurs also in *Suvarṇabhā-sottarasūtra* corresponding to Sanskrit *śmaśāne* that is rendered by Skjærvø as "in a cemetery",[9] or in Chinese by Yi Jing as 屍林 shi lin (corpse-woods). In his *Dictionary*, under the entry devoted to this word, Bailey had noticed two occurrences from *The Book of Zambasta* where, already, the word had undergone a loss of a syllable. The two occasions are *ulatāñe* in Z 2. 47 and *ulagāñe* in Z 20. 34.[10]

In my opinion *ulāṃñi* represents a further reduction of *ulatāñe*. In fact an exact parallel development from *-latā-* or *-lagā-* to *-lā-* cannot be found in other Khotanese vocabularies, but this phenomenon of contraction can be compared with other appearances and explained as follows: it is commonly observed in the morphological development from Old Khotanese to Late Khotanese that intervocalic consonant *-t-*, *-g-*[11] and *-v-* are prone to disappearing, and very often with them even a whole *akṣara* is lost, especially when the syllable is unstressed; as for instances, *ratana-* is reduced to *rana-* as attested in *rana-daśtānia-*;[12] after losing the intervocalic *-t-* the vowel before and after may join together and change to one long vowel as to be found in *spātavate* to *spāta-* "a general".[13] The word *ulāṃñi* may present another ideal example: its intervocalic *-t-* is lost and the vowel of the syllable *la* has assimilated the next vowel *ā* and has become long. As a result of this process, we have *ulāṃñi* in our manuscript.

My proposal that *ulāṃñi* may derive from *upalatāñe* relies mainly on the context. As can be viewed from my translation given above, *ulāṃñi*, rendered as "ground of execution", fits very well in the context. However, more about the context and the syntax of the sentence will be discussed in the ensuing part.

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[8] Duan Qing, *Das Khotanische Aparimitāyuhsūtra*, in *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik*, Dissertation Band 3, Dr. Inge Wezler Verlag für Orientalische Fachpublikationen, pp. 41-2.

[9] Skjærvø 2004, vol. 1, pp. 78-9.

[10] *Dictionary* p. 37.

[11] In Khotanese, it is often to be observed that intervocalic *-g-* is changed to *-t-*, as for instance, both *nāga-* and *nāta-* are found.

[12] Degener 1989, p. 125.

[13] R. E. Emmerick, "On the St. Petersburg Folios of the Khotanese Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra", *Res Orientales VII, Au Carrefour des Religions Mélanges Offerts À Philippe Gignoux*, publié par le Groupe pour l'Étude de la Civilisation du Moyen-Orient avec le Concourse de l'Institut Français de Recherche en Iran, 1995, p. 63.

ka rrāṃdä jsīye vīra ārraḍä himāte o āṃmā[c]āṃ mū-kṣīrāṃ o nitca-kṣīrāṃ (lines 12-15; cf. b 11-14 by Skjærvø 2007, p. 390)

This long sentence is of significance for the study of Khotanese syntax. For the phrase rrāṃdä jsīye vīra we need a word-for-word analysis.

jsīye is a regular infinitive based on jsata-, past participle of the verb jsan- 'to kill'. As an infinitive, jsīye can govern an accusative, as for example from Z 24. 442: cīyä rre hvadu hamatä jsīye parīyi "when the king himself orders to kill a man...",[14] where hvadu stands for the Late Khotanese accusative of the nominal stem hva'nd(a)-.[15]

rrāṃdä is by no means inflected in an accusative form of rrund(a)- "a king", but a form of Late Khotanese genitive. That rrāṃdä must be in genitive may also be borne out by other words of the same sentence. We read in the above quoted sentence o āṃmā[c]āṃ mū-kṣīrāṃ o nitca-kṣīrāṃ—all the words are inflected in genitive, and the genitive case of all these words expresses the same sense and functions as rrāṃdä in genitive. Their common function in the sentence is clearly expressed through the conjunction word o "or". Because rrāṃdä "king" is certainly not a form of accusative, so it certainly cannot be the direct or affected object of the infinitive jsīye "to kill", but on the contrary: the genitive case of all the words in the same sentence is used to express their active role of the action "to kill"; they are, so to speak, the logical agents of the infinitive jsīye.

vīra is a postposition and rather goes, in my opinion, with the infinitive than with ārraḍä < ārra+yuda- "having committed a guilt, guilty". Even given that vīra is used in combination with ārraḍä, as suggested by Skjærvø,[16] it does not function in order to introduce an "on account of" or "of ..." for "guilty", but rather the adequate punishment as a result of the perpetrator.

Checking through Buddhist Pañca Rakṣās in Chinese translation, we encounter often phrases like 王難 wangnan, "misfortunes caused by kings" or 大臣難 "misfortunes caused by great ministers". Such phrases express miseries from which the Pañca Rakṣās would provide protection.[17] The long Sanskrit and Khotanese manuscript roll Ch. c. 001 belonging to the Stein collection of the India Office Library contains a Skt. text of Tathāgatoṣnīṣa-sidhāṃta-patra-dhāraṇī (hereafter as Tsp-dhāraṇī) where we found rājabhaya "danger from the king" is the Skt. phrase corresponding to Chinese wangnan.[18]

Kumārajīva's translation 妙法蓮華経 Miaofa Lianhua Jing has the following sentence:

或 huo 遭 zao 王 wang 難 nan 苦 ku. 臨 lin 刑 xing 欲 yu 壽 shou 終 zhong'
"If the one who were suffering the misfortunes caused by the king, were going to be executed, and his life would end, ..."

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[14] The Khotanese text is from Z, but the English translation is done by me. Cf. Degener 1989, p. 287: hvadu ... jsīye parīyi "befiehlt, einen Mann zu töten".

[15] R. E. Emmerick, Saka Grammatical Studies, London: Oxford University Press, 1968, pp. 334-5.

[16] Skjærvø 2007, pp. 394-5.

[17] For a general information about the Pañca Rakṣās is still to refer to M. Winternitz, A History of Indian Literature, vol. II, Calcutta, p. 385.

[18] For the Skt. phrase cf. Shūyo Takubo 1975, p. 124. The corresponding Chinese phrase is in T 19, p. 405a.

The Sanskrit text lying behind the Chinese version is as follows:

saci āghatana upasthito vadhyaghātāna ca saṃgato bhavet |[19]

"If he would have arrived at the place of execution and met with executioners ..."

Some notes are worthy of our attention for the sentence in Sanskrit and Kumārajīva's translation: Buddhist Sanskrit has *āgāthana*, occurring also as *āghatana*, meaning "place of execution (of criminals)";[20] *vadhyaghātāna* might be a BS form of genitive plural of *vadhyaghāta* "executioner of criminals".[21] In the Skt. text we do not see the exact words in accord with Kumārajīva's 王 $_{wang}$ 難 $_{nan}$ 苦 $_{ku}$ "misfortunes aroused by the king" exist, hence his translation is rather a commentary than a direct rendering. However his exegetic translation sheds light on the real sense of the compound *rājabhaya* "danger from the king" that belongs to the huge pathetic bunch of sufferings in the human world. Enlightened through the comparison between the two versions, we know that someone would have lost his life whenever he had been trapped by the king, and that 王 $_{wang}$ 難 $_{nan}$ 苦 $_{ku}$ "misfortunes aroused by the king" at least entails two roles and a place: the king, the guilty one and a place of execution.

This is the same context we encounter in the Khotanese text under discussion, it has a guilty one—*ārraḍä*, the king and the place of execution—*ulāmñi* "in the cemetery". Therefore the Khotanese word *ulāmñi* has two meanings: 1. in the cemetery, 2. on the ground of execution, and the phrase *ka rrāṃdä jsīye vīra ārraḍä himāte* is to be translated as "if he, as a guilty one, is going to be killed by the king..."

āmmā[c]āṃ, genitive plural < *āmāca-*, Skt. *āmātya-* "office, minister", is also used as the agent of the infinitive *jsīye*. In Chinese translation we found similar rendition as 大 $_{da}$ 臣 $_{chen}$ 難 $_{nan}$ "misfortunes caused by ministers", or as 官 $_{guan}$ 難 $_{nan}$ "misfortunes caused by officers".[22]

Both *mū-kṣīra-* "countryman", *nitca-kṣīra-* "foreigner" are inflected in genitive plural on the manuscript and stand in a grammatical syntax all the same as *rrāṃdä* and *āmmā[c]āṃ*. They express other kinds of sources of misfortune or disaster. But the question is, who were the countrymen or foreigners, and why were they so dangerous and even imaged as a source of danger and disaster?

Usually, as listed in *Tsp-dhāraṇī*, disasters may enumerated as from kings, robbers, fire, water, poisons, weapons, and paracakrabhaya etc.[23] In one Chinese version of the same text from the Yuan-dynasty (CE 1206-1368), we find 外 $_{wai}$ 國 $_{guo}$ 軍 $_{jun}$ 兵 $_{bing}$ 難 $_{nan}$[24] "disaster from foreign armies" corresponding to *paracakrabhaya*. There is another version of the same text preserved in Chinese Buddhist canons. But this version is not a stand-alone one, it was treated as a section of Dhāraṇī included in *Suraṅgamasūtra*—only

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[19] A Sanskrit Manuscript of Saddharmapundarīka kept in the library of the Cultural Palace of the Nationalities, Beijing, romanized Text, edited and annotated by Jiang Zhongxin, Beijing 1988, p. 370.

[20] BHSGD, vol. II, Dictionary, p. 89.

[21] BHSGD, vol. II, Dictionary, p. 469.

[22] For instance: 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼別法 Fodingzunsheng Tuoloni Biefa [= *Buddhoṣnīṣa-vijaya-dhāraṇī-viśeṣa-dharma] has "若 ruo 有 you 王 wang 難 nan 官 guan 難 nan 甲 jia 兵 bing 口 kou 舌 she 等 deng 難 nan 起 qi 時 shi......"[= If there arise disasters caused by kings or offices or soldiers, or other troubles caused by gossips...] T 19, p. 397a.

[23] Shūyo Takubo 1975, p. 124.

[24] T 19, p. 405a.

a shortened title of a long text which exists in Chinese since the year 705. The translation of the work is ascribed to an Indian monk named Paramiti.[25] Well, this version of *Tsp-dhāraṇī* is not a translation; the whole text of *dhāraṇī* had been just transliterated into Chinese characters. In the sequence of all the disasters we find 波囉斫羯囉婆夜, *boluozhuojielopoya* according to Modern Chinese transcription which corresponds to Skt. *paracakrabhaya*. What draws our attention is the short comment following transliteration: 兵 bing 難 nan, "disaster caused by soldiers".

However, in fact, *paracakra* had been translated into Khotanese in several ways as for instance in Khotanese *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*, where we read *biśśānu īnātānu hīnauśānu īśśākä* "a turner back of all foreign armies" to render Skt. *sarva-paracakra-pratinivartanaḥ*;[26] and another example: *biśyau īnātyau nätca-kṣīrgyau hīnyau ttä avurda hämāre* "they will be unconquered by all foreign, outlandish armies",[27] where *biśyau īnātyau nätca-kṣīrgyau hīnyau* also corresponds to *sarva-paracakra* in a Skt. compound. In both sentences we see that *hīnä-* "army" is indispensable for rendering *paracakra*.

I would rather propose that the two Khotanese words, *mū-kṣīra-* "countryman" and *nitca-kṣīra-* "foreigner", imply so much the same as "soldiers from homeland and outlandish soldiers". In support of my proposal I stress the fact that in similar Skt. literature composed for the purpose of protection as for instance in *Pañca Rakṣās*, disaster caused by soldiers or foreign army is listed among all the misfortunes as aroused by kings and ministers. That these two words do not add *hīnä-* "army" to their composition is, in my opinion, rather an indication that the amulet under discussion is not a product of translation, but a genuine text composed by Khotanese monks.

The passage is quoted from *SDPS* and its Chinese translation in accord has not only enabled us to improve our understanding of the Khotanese text cited above, but also elucidates a syntax of Khotanese genitive-dative case: in combination with an infinitive which derives from a past passive participle as in the instance of *jsīye* Khotanese genitive-dative case may express the agent.[28]

Further, the close parallel passage from the Late Khotanese Text *Amṛtaprabha-dhāraṇī* is to be translated in the light of the new attested syntax of Khotanese genitive-dative case. Here I quote from Skjærvø's transcription of *Amṛtaprabha- dhāraṇī* 40-41:[29]

> cū ṣi' himāti strrīya cū tvuā rakṣa bida barī na ṣi' tvā rādä āradä au vā mistāṃ hvāṣṭāṃ jsīyi [... khvī u]lāmña ājimīdä samī ṣā' rakṣa ūskyāṣṭä haṃ{tca}grrīhāṃña. [the *akṣara* *tca* appears to have been deleted] aysä vara hīsūṃ

I translate this quotation as follows:

> "Whoever that woman may be who carries this amulet upon herself, she is not [going] as a guilty one to be killed by the king or great masters. [If] they bring [her] to the execution ground, she just has to lift that protection high, (and) I shall

[25] The complete title is 大 da 佛 fo 頂 ding 如來 rulai 密 mi 因 yin 修 xiu 證 zheng 了 liao 義 yi 諸 zhu 菩薩 pusa 萬 wan 行 xing 首楞嚴 shoulengyan 經 jing, T 19.106b-155b.
[26] Skjærvø 2004, vol. 1, 86-87; vol. 2, p. 142.
[27] Skjærvø 2004, vol. 1, 114-5; vol. 2, p. 166.
[28] Cf. Emmerick 1965, pp. 24-33.
[29] Cf. Skjærvø 2007, p. 394. Symbols used in the transcription and translation follow his edition.

come to her[30]."

Some Amendments of Skjærvø's Reading

Due to severe damage, both fragments present great difficulty in decipherment. However, based on clearer photos we can read a little more from the manuscript.

To fragment I, verso lines 23-24 = b 22-4 by Skjærvø 2007, p. 390.

23. [+] hve jauya vahai[y]sāte
24. (a)ysi biśä nvatsūm parvā-
25. (l)īmī ...
Translation :
"(If) the man should fall into a fight, I will follow all (the time) and protect him."

hve jauya vahai[y]sāte (line 23 = b22 by Skjærvø)

The comment is dedicated to the last word *vahai[y]sāte* which Skjærvø reads as *hve' jauya va hā jsāte*, and he has cited a similar sentence from the Khotanese *Rāmāyaṇa* in support of his edition. Our discrepancy of reading is focused on the third *akṣara* from right of the line 23 which I recognize as *hai* instead of *hā* as by Skjærvø. For a comparison between *hai* and *hā* three *akṣaras* from the same manuscript are given below: *hai* is the *akṣara* under discussion, *hā* is in line 11, and *nai* in line 17, both latter can be found in the photo shown in the previous part.

hai hā nai

vaihaiysāte is inflected in the 3rd person singular of the subjunctive middle tense of the verb *vahīys-* "to descend". This form however is to my knowledge attested for the first time.

parvā[l]īmī is reconstructed by me. As can be seen on the photo given above, *-l-* is totally lost due to damage, but the reading of *-mī* is certain. *parvālīmī* is a form of the 1st person singular of present indicative active with the enclitic pronoun *-i* "him, it" attached to the suffix *-īmi* ; its base is *parvāl-* "to protect" from BS *paripāl-*, occurring also as *parpāl-* in Khotanese texts. In Khotanese manuscripts we frequently encounter *parvālaa-* "a protector"—a noun derived from Skt. *paripālaka-*.[31]

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[30] I understand *vara* "there" as a substitution of locative, thus render *vara* in this sentence as "to her".
[31] R. E. Emmerick, "Two Indian Loanwords in Khotanese", in *Studien zum Jainismus und Buddhismus*, Gedenkschrift für Ludwig Alsdorf, Wiesbaden 1981. pp. 81-82.

To fragment II, recto lines 2-6 = c2-6 by Skjærvø 2007, p. 391.
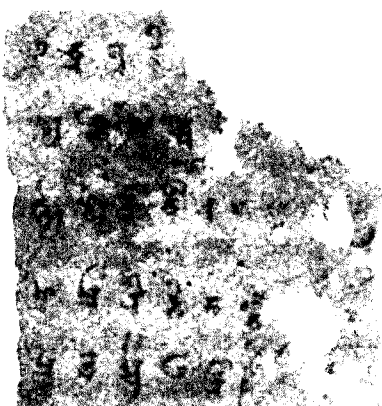
2.　... cu buri [

3.　ysurrja satva ī[ṃ]d(ä) [

4.　ttye hvaṃdä vīra y[s](u)rr[ja] [

5.　himāre ttina vä[

6.　mīdä ārradä ...

Translation :

" Whoever ... the wrathful beings are, (if) they get angry upon this man, therefore ... guilty .... "

The second fragment, designated by Skjærvø as c for the recto and d for the verso, is more seriously defective than the first one. There is virtually not so much text to be rescued. In the spirit, however, that every fragment of Khotanese is important for documenting the history of Central Asia,[32] I have tried to decipher more words from the fragment based on the photo shown above. It is not so difficult to recognize *ysurrja sarva* in line 2, but *ysurrja* in the 3rd line is reconstructed merely based on traces. With the new edition of these broken lines, it seems to me that the sentence makes some sense. There is not much to comment on the words, perhaps except *ysurrja.*

ysurrja- "angry, wrathful" is a familiar word of Late Khotanese, an adjective to the noun *ysurra-* "anger".[33] The archaic form of this word is *ysurgya-*, as for instance in Z 3. 75: *ysurgyi uysnorä* "a wrathful being".

To fragment II, verso lines 2-6 =d2-6 by Skjærvø 2007, p. 392.
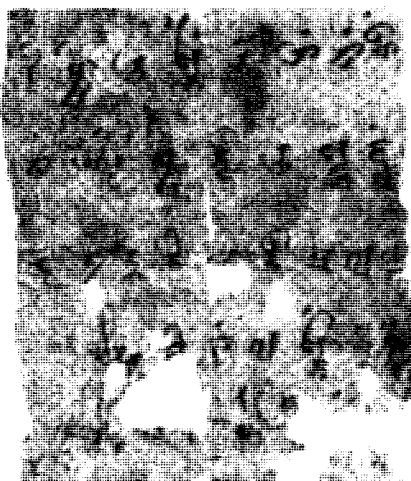
2.　rīhyi ustāṃnä rrāṃdāṃ hīm-

3.　nāysāṃ pyaṃthī usthaṃjūṃ

4.　[+] tta tta ni yanīme gyast[a]

5.　[ba]lysa biśāṃ gyastāṃ rrundä

6.　[v]yū[h]ai ...

Translation:

"... I will raise troops (consisting) of kings (and) army leaders in front of him. ...I will so do to them, O Lord Buddha, with armies of divine kings ..."

This is what I read and understand based on the photo of the fragment. The text between line 2-3 seems to represent the only complete sentence in this fragment. Yet, some remark may still be made about this complete sentence.

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[32]　R. E. Emmerick, "The historical Importance of the Khotanese Manuscripts", *Prolegomena to the Sources on the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia*, ed. J. Harmatta, Budapest 1979, p. 175.

[33]　Degener 1989, p. 304.

ustāmnā occurs only twice in survived Khotanese texts. However, our text provides a context in which "troops or army" is so good as compelling. With the meaning "troops, an army" for *ustāmnä* cf. *Rāmāyana* P 2781 line 179: *usthīyāmda hīna bīysāmja* "they raised a terrifying army",[34] where *hīna* "army" may have been substituted by *ustāmnä* since *usthīyāmda*, inflected in the form of 3rd person plural perfect masculine, is from the same base *usthamj-* "to pull out, to raise" as *usthamjūm* of our text derives from, however, the latter takes a Late Khotanese form of the 1st singular of present active. Moreover, supported by the two instances quoted here, I would suggest "conjure up" as an additional meaning to *usthamj-* besides its known meaning "to pull out, to raise". It is because in both cases the troops seem not to have existed before; that they come about is merely due to a conjuring-up by divine beings, as for the example in our text: an army consisting of kings and army leaders is in fact to be understood as mythical description.

rrāmdām hīmnāysām are used in the sense of "genitive of material":[35] an army consisting of "kings (and) army leaders".

With the established meaning "troops, army" for *ustāmnä* I will try a new translation of the sentence from *Amṛtaprabha-dhāranī* where *ustāmnä* occurs for the only second time in the survived Khotanese texts. In this sentence, from context alone, "troops, army" is wholly acceptable.

> *tryi hvamdi ātam hambirūm anārī padīmi balaudī ūstānä arūnai hu x x [...] sidhavamdī padīmi*
>
> "I shall fulfill all that man's wishes. I shall make him free of guilt. I shall make his army powerful ...successful".[36]

Nāgas:

Finally I have to make a correction of a mistake in my Chinese version where the interpretation of the *nāga* kings is concerned. It belongs to the basic knowledge of Buddhist literature that Sāgara is numbered as a king of *nāgas*, in the *Longer Āgama-sūtra* Sāgara is one of the 16 *nāga* kings who do not fear to fall prey to Garuda[37] whereas in *SDPS* he has a position among the eight great *nāga* kings. However, when I read in Dhāranī the text *siddham* namau sāgaranā-garājasya tadyathā ...*,[38] I regarded *sāgaranāgarājasya* as a *tatpuruṣa* compound and took the first member *sāgara-* "ocean" as used in the sense of the defining genitive while forgetting that this text can not be treated as composed in a pure Sanskrit, thus I translated the compound as "to the king of the *nāgas* of the ocean". Distracted by this compound, I stubbornly refused to regard *[s]āgarä nātām rre*[39] as a whole unit dedicated to the famous *nāga* king Sāgara. I wrongly understood *[s]āgarä* as an attribute with meaning "ocean" referring to the next king of *nāgas*. Now I realize that I have made a mistake here. *[s]āgarä nātām rre* should be rendered as "Sāgara, the king of *nāgas*" as Skjærvø in fact has. I have to correct the

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[34] Bailey 1969, III, p. 71. The translation is quoted from Bailey's *Dictionary*, p. 482.
[35] Cf. R. E. Emmerick 1965, p. 28.
[36] The transcription is quoted from Skjærvø 2007, p. 396, but the translation is changed by me for a word.
[37] The Chinese names of the 16 *nāgas* are to be found in T 1, p. 127c-128a.
[38] The Text is between lines a19-20 according to Skjærvø 2007, p. 390.
[39] The phrase is to be found in line a8 according to Skjærvø 2007, p. 388.

mistake and publish the right sequence of *nāga* kings as Skjærvø has. Since I read their names slightly differently from that of Skjærvø's, thus my reading may be still a worthy one for publication.

Below is the list of the *nāga* kings with parallel names in Khotanese, Sanskrit and Chinese. The names in Khotanese are given as I read from the manuscript. More about this group of *nāga* kings we may refer to Skjærvø 2007, page 388.

Khotanese	Sanskrit	Chinese
sāgarä	sāgara	海、娑伽羅、娑竭羅
anavadatä	anavatapta	無熱、無胸達、阿那婆達多
kāḍakä	kālika	具時
ttīmīgalä	timiṅgila	提彌羅
gajaśirṣa	gajaśīrṣa	象頭
grrahavattä	*grhāvadapta[40]	熱舍
kauṭakarṇä	?	?

Abbreviations used in References:

Bailey 1969 = Harold W. Bailey, *Khotanese Texts*, vols. I-III. 2nd ed. Cambridge.

— 1981 = Harold W. Bailey, *Opera Minora*, vol. 1, edited by M. Nawabi, Shiraz.

BHSGD = Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*. 1st edition: New Haven 1953, reprint Delhi, 1977.

Catalogue = P. O. Skjærvø, *Khotanese Manuscripts from Chinese Turkestan in the British Library: a Complete Catalogue with Texts and Translations*, London: British Library, 2002

Degener 1989 = Almuth Degener, *Khotanese Suffixe*, Franz Steiner Verlag Stuttgart.

Dictionary = H. W. Bailey, *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

Emmerick 1965 = R. E. Emmerick, "Syntax of the cases in Khotanese", *BSOAS*, xxviii. i, pp. 24-33.

Shūyo Takubo 田久保周譽, *Tonkō-shutsudo Uten.go-himitsu. kyō-tenshū no kenkyū* [= Studies on the Khotanese 'Collection of the esoteric sūtras' found in Tunhuang], Shunshū.sha Press, 1975. The title and its translation is from the Review of R. E. Emmerick to this book, cf. *Reviews* of *Indo-Iranian Journal* 20 (1978).

Skjærvø 2004 = P. O. Skjærvø, *This Most Excellent Shine of Gold, King of Kings of Sutras, the Khotanese Suvarṇabhāsottaramasūtra*, Harvard: Harvard University, vol. I and II.

— 2007 = P. O. Skjærvø, "A Khotanese Amulet", *Iranian Languages and Texts from Iran and Turan*, Ronald E. Emmerick Memorial Volume, edited by Maria Macuch, Mauro Maggi and Werner Sundermann, Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag, pp. 387-401.

T = *Taishō shinshū Daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經, eds. Junjirō Takakusu and Kaigyoku Watanabe (Tōkyō: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai, [1924-1932])

Z = R.E. Emmerick, *The Book of Zambasta*, London: Oxford University Press, 1968

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[40] This word is reconstructed by Bailey, cf. Bailey 1981, p. 412.